2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

spirits. Even representations of the horse, which is regarded as a benevolent being and almost worshiped, are avoided. Only the shaman's dress may be decorated with figures of men and animals which represent his guardians and benevolent and evil spirits (pp. 107–118).

Fig. 82 (70-9367). An Ivory Carving depicting a Man on Snow-shoes.

Fig. 83 (70-8799, 8916). Wood Carvings representing a Lamp on a Stand and a Saddled Horse.

Professor Boas has called attention to the difference between the realistic decoration of ceremonial objects and the geometrical designs on those in common use among the Indians and Eskimo.[1] This differentiation is applicable to Yakut art.

[1]Boas, Franz, The Decorative Art of the North American Indian (*Popular Science Monthly*, vol. 63, pp. 491–498, 1903).

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

532
177
●321

We present here some additional examples of Yakut carving in the Museum collection to show the crudity and rigidity of the execution of human and animal figures in bone or mammoth tusks despite the fact that the carvings were made by Yakut living near Yakutsk in imitation of Russian carvings and to meet the demands of Russians.

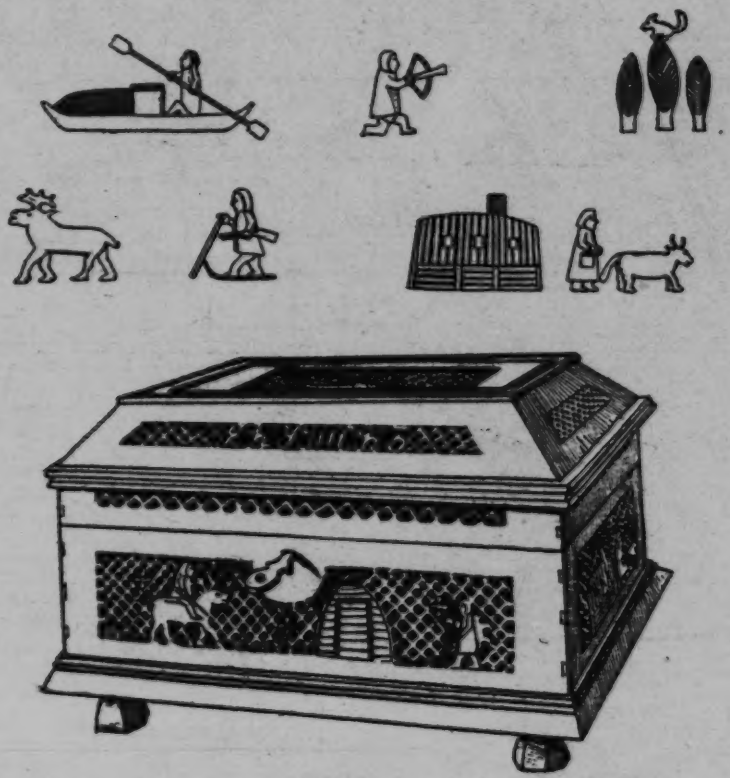


Fig. 84 (70-9382). A Mammoth Ivory Box with Filigree Carving and some Details of the Figures carved on the Opposite Side.

531
321

A box of mammoth ivory ornamented in filigree is shown in Fig. 84. On the front is depicted a Tungus riding a reindeer, a conical tent with its entrance door, and a hunter afoot carrying his staff and a dead fox on his back. Fig. 84 reproduces the figures carved on the other three sides of the box: a man paddling a boat with a covered place for passengers; an elk; a hunter on snowshoes carrying a staff and

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

gun; a man kneeling with drawn bow; three firs with a squirrel on the top of the middle one; a Yakut earth hut; a woman with a pail going to milk a cow. A comb of mammoth ivory ornamented in filigree and an ivory ear pick may be seen in Fig. 85. All other ornamentation

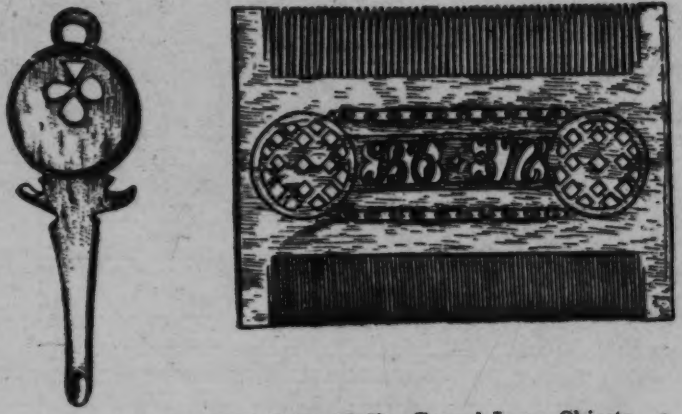


Fig. 85 *a* (70-9088), *b* (70-9097). Carved Ivory Objects. *a*, An ear pick; *b*, A comb of mammoth ivory with filigree decoration.

Fig. 86 (70-9089). Bone Goblet.

of wood or bone objects consists of geometric, skewomorphic, and conventionalized designs. Only the legs or bases of large wooden kumiss goblets realistically represent horses' legs and hoofs. To show the great variety of non-realistic decorative design motives we will analyze the decoration of goblets and other vessels used in kumiss festivals.

10: Bush--299 [2] T-3 (1865-67) 1871 Yakut
116, 306, 321, 531

"They possess considerable intelligence, and display much acuteness in bargaining, but are particularly remarkable for their ingenuity in manufacturing jewelry, trinkets, and metal-work of all kinds, and in carving ivory after the manner of the Chinese and Japanese. Some of their designs are very beautiful."

39: Jochelson E-5 (1888-97) 1906 Yakut

415 532 778 756 322 Neither in the engraving and carving on the wooden kumiss vessels, nor in the embroidery on the leather and birch-bark vessels, do we find any realistic representation of animals or objects. Realistic art was evidently not known to the Yakut in the past. SĂROSHEVSKI remarks that the old-time Yakut considered it a sin for any one except shamans to carve human figures from wood. The shamans carve these roughly of wood, which represent "guardians" or evil spirits, for use in religious ceremonies, and they are not regarded as harmless to ordinary [524] folk. I saw figures of cows and horses carved from wood or birch-bark, to be used by children as playthings, but there were never any dolls among them. Some Yakut living not far from [321] the Russian town of Yakutsk carve from ivory, among other things human figures; but I consider this to be a rather inartistic imitation of the carvings of neighboring tribes.

415 531 532 The only attempt at realistic reproduction in the ornamentation of kumiss vessels is to be found in the carving of horses' hoofs. Thus the feet of the three-legged goblets are often carved in the shape of horses' hoofs (Plate XXII, Fig. 2). The mouthpiece of the kumiss churning-vessel likewise often has the form of a horse's hoof. Even in a conventionalized form we do not find the representation of an animal or human figure, not even that of the horse, which forms an object of their animal cult; but, judging from the Yakut names, we do meet with conventionalized representations of parts of the human body.

Thus No. 13 (Fig. 8) is called *tonohos oyū*, that is, "vertebral ornament," and represents the spine or neck vertebra.

No. 15 is called *tyñyrax oyū*, which means "nail-ornament," and represents human nails.

No. 16 is called *tarbax oyū*, which is "finger-ornament," and is a conventionalization of the human finger. On birch-bark vessels we find the same ornament embroidered in horsehair (Plate XXII, Fig. 4), and it is then called *tarbaxīy ṭigī*, which means "finger-embroidery."

/238 cont./

122 After a seven-hour trip -- the distance could at most amount
136 to 45 versts -- we reached the station of Bodogóle, where the inhabitants told us something about the hunting here. Concerning big game here, there is first of all the common mountain sheep
● [321] (tschubukún), whose meat is said to be very tasty. The skin is also highly valued and carved work is made out of the horns; /239/ we saw only a few small spoons very simply worked. The elk is found everywhere; on the other hand there are hardly any beasts of prey at all, at least no wolves, which are found only to the north from the mountains to Kŏng-urách, but then are completely absent as far as Jakutsk /Yakutsk/; the glutton, whose pelt is eagerly sought by the Jakuten /Yakut/ for fur caps, is found only very rarely; as for fur-bearing animals, there are many squirrels (also flying and striped ones) and ermine, and, it seems, sable.

122 Below the station of Bodogóle the mountains west of the
[133] route become lower and eminences covered with forest appear. To be sure, on the right bank of the river Antimirdjách one again sees barren peaks, but they soon recede and the range then disappears altogether. Once again on this day, at the end of a very wretched trip, we had to resort to a log house built in exactly the same style as the one of two days before. The local name for these houses is powárnja, i.e., kitchen. Although this powárnja had been built only a few months ago, it was almost of even less use than the earlier one, and again we had to sleep in our traveling clothes. Fortunately it was for the last time, for the day's trip of December 5 brought us to the station of Tánda, which lies on the left bank of the Aldán, and from here on a more densely populated
439 region begins. Before we reached Tánda we met the Jakutsk
484 merchant Gawrifl Feofánow Ssolowjów with his entire caravan, who likewise carries on trade with Kolýmsk, although not directly, but rather by way of the settlement Rússkoje Ustje (i.e., Russian river-mouth) on the Indigírka. We were interested to learn from him -- we had stopped at a yurt along the way -- that he had formerly sent regularly organized expeditions to the New Siberian Islands, which had brought back to him rich booty in mammoth tusks. He had /240/ not undertaken any for many years because

/256 cont./

A further scientific curiosity is the so-called Schérgin shaft, famous for Middendorff's temperature measurements, by means of which the enormous depth of the ice floor was established scientifically.

For making my magnetic observations, /257/ the governor was kind enough to clear completely the very large reception room of the club, and in particular even had the large metal chandelier taken down. Our young Tungus, Sseliphón, was following me with the instruments and suddenly, with a loud cry, stopped in the middle of the room. On the main wall hung a very well painted lifesize portrait of the emperor; my explanation that it was the emperor dumbfounded him even more; he made countless bows and could finally be convinced only with the greatest difficulty, after he had put his hand behind the picture several times, as children often do with mirrors, that it was merely a picture and not His Majesty in person.

We would have liked to take with us as mementos some of the work of the Jakuten /Yakut/. Like most Turkish tribes -- the Jakut language is so similar to Turkish that Turks cast adrift here are said to make themselves understood very easily -- the Jakuten excel in iron work. We were also shown some ornaments very artistically made out of silver and iron, quite similar to the Caucasian work, but unfortunately they were not for sale. The Jakuten are also very artistic at works carved out of fossil ivory, although they are said to show little power of invention in doing it, but, on the other hand, copy perfectly. We bought a few paper knives which were obviously made from European models -- the handle was formed by a hand holding a cornucopia; we were also shown very pretty little openwork boxes made from Chinese patterns, but most particularly beautiful was a pair of large combs such as are used by the Russian clergy to arrange their hair, which is worn as long as possible. Bishop Dionýssij asked me to take these as a gift to his friend, the rector of the divinity school in Irkutsk. They showed three bishop's /258/ miters on an openwork background with the most elegant arabesques.

53: Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

skillfully made; the wooden crockery was usually decorated with carving, while the birchbark objects were decorated with horsehair designs. 322

Fur-dressing and tanning were very common. The materials were made into a great variety of different things—clothing, footwear, and headgear; carpets, underlays (usually made of horse- or cow-hide, often sewn together from pieces into a checkered mosaic), blankets (from horse-skin); the leather vessels were made in a variety of sizes, ranging from the enormous simiir' for kumys down to the tiny pail or tursuk; various parts of saddles, straps, nooses and so on. The actual working of the leather and fur was very primitive—the hide was smoked (in ancient times and even in the 17th century this was done in earth stoves), crumpled, smeared with oil or cream, and there was no true tanning. The manufacture of reindeer suede was evidently learnt from the Evenks and the Evens. 281

The Yakuts themselves did not make any cloth, either from animal wool or vegetable fiber—and only used what was imported. They did not know about spinning, nor how to roll felt. On the other hand, horsehair was widely employed; it was used for the ornamentation of birchbark and other objects, particularly for braiding different kinds of lassoes, cord, laces and nets, loops, fans to keep flies away, stuffing pillows for saddles and so on. The Yakuts also wove horsehair for decorative purposes. The individual hairs were twisted into a thread by hand on a bare knee, without using a spindle. 286 283 439 531

Blacksmithery was the only trade among the Yakuts which had long acquired commercial importance, although normally it was not a separate trade from agriculture. In the 17th century the Russians found it to be highly developed among the Yakuts. The iron was obtained from marsh ore, of which there was a great deal, particularly on the Vilyuy. The ore was mined along the rivers Botoma, Amga, Sola and others. It was first smelted in primitive blast furnaces. But at the beginning of the 20th century the Yakut smiths were already working with imported iron. They forged it into a variety of implements and utensils, weapons and so on. Apart from iron, the Yakut smiths worked low-grade silver, which in the 19th and 20th centuries was partly obtainable by melting down Russian coins. This silver was made into various ornaments, linings for belts, whips, horse harnessing. The equipment used in the smithies was fairly unsophisticated—furnaces worked with bellows (portable), anvils, hammer and tongs. 326 [316]

The fact that they engaged in ceramics singles out the Yakuts from the people around them. They evidently retained pottery as a relic of the Neolithic stage. Nevertheless, it was very primitive. To the dark, viscous clay they used to add powder ground from old fired pots and then mold the clay mixture diluted with water into the walls of the pot with their hands (without a wheel), using a stone to smooth them out (on the inside) and a trowel (on the outside). The pots were fired in the hearth. The pottery varied in size and the shapes and designs were crude. In the last few decades, Yakut ceramics have been replaced by Russian ones. 323

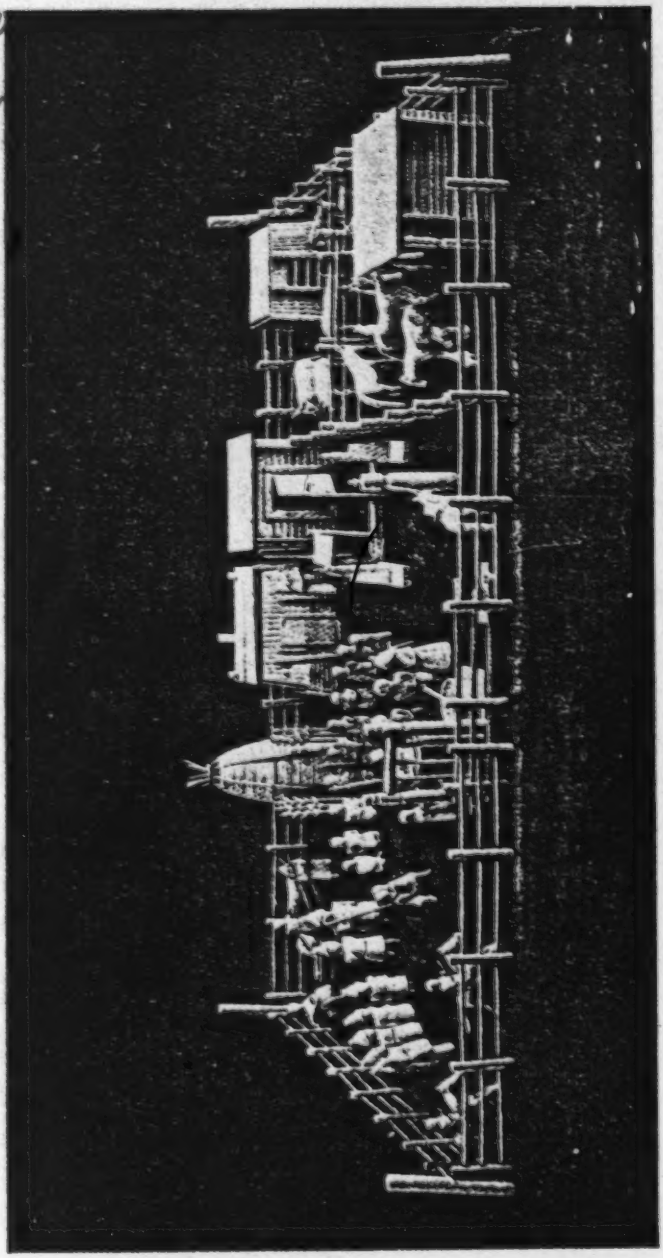
Mammoth-ivory carving (Yakutiya is rich in mammoth skeletons), which was probably not begun before the 19th century, was not a common trade, although it was an interesting one. The ivory was carved into a variety of trinkets and small boxes. 321

These were the main types of production among the Yakuts prior to the Revolution. As a whole, the Yakut economy remained at a fairly low level of development, and by and large remained a subsistence economy. Nevertheless, the sale of homemade products acquired ever-greater importance towards the end of the 19th century. This was mainly the case 433 443

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

[p. 284]

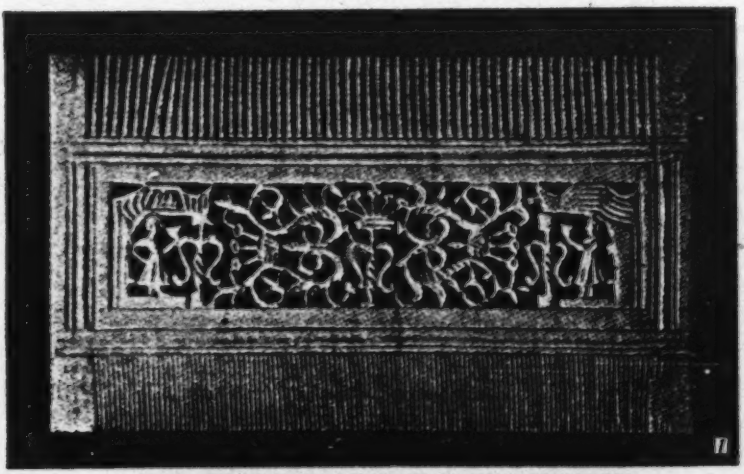
532
321
342
343



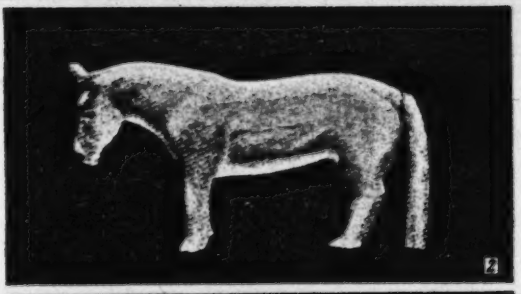
Yakut farmstead. Bone carving, 19th century.

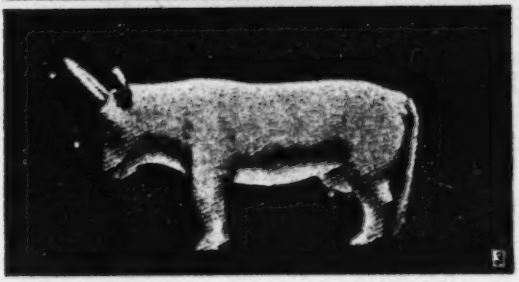
53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

532
321



532
321





Bone carving, 19th century. 1—comb; 2—horse; 3—cow.

foundations of the Yakut written language. Uvarovskiy, a Yakut by birth, wrote down several Yakut texts in Russian characters, and on the basis of them Academician O. N. Boethling made the first scholarly analysis of the Yakut language. At the prompting of the eminent I. Ye. Veniaminov (a former missionary in the Aleutians), the priest Dmitriy Khitrov published in 1958 the first "Brief Grammar of the Yakut Language." A

53: Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

Bone-carving is the ancient art of the Yakuts. Bone-carving, wood-cutting and embossing silver still exist at the present time. Bone is widely used for bas-relief portraits.

532
321

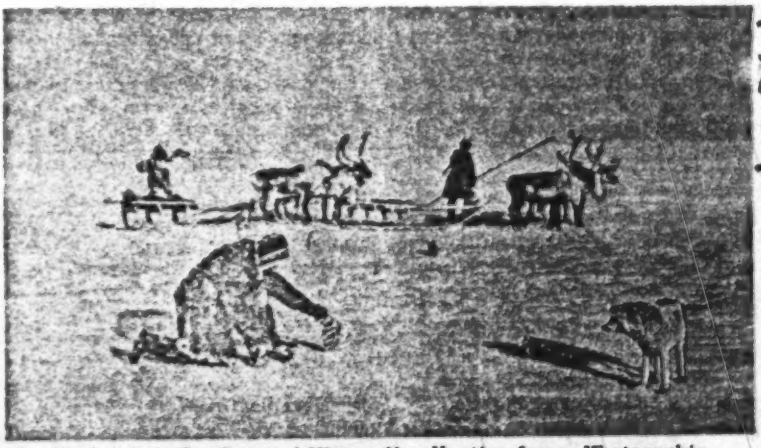
178 the other hand, [201] the possibilities for maximizing profits from
439 the sale in foreign markets of such valuable furs as polar fox are not fully utilized, since on account of their trips transporting loads the carters are compelled to cut down on the number of times they can make the rounds of their traps.

233 In places where there are many fish and wild reindeer--for ex-
262 ample, in Pyasina--domestic reindeer are hardly ever used as food. On the other hand, in places where there is little game, the average family is forced to use a minimum of about forty head and more in the course of a year, especially in the east, where the population hardly uses any grain at all, substituting meat in its place. All parts of the reindeer are used for food, not excluding even the con-
233 tents of the stomach. Reindeer milk is also used as food. [Fig. 18].
234 They milk reindeer from June until Shroud-Day, the holiday called
262 "Pokrov" [Feast of the Protection of the Holy Virgin] (November 14), but there are also some cows without calves which are milked the year round. The milking is done once a day. In the summer they usually milk the reindeer before tea, so as to have milk to pour into their tea, and when they do this they milk with the right hand alone, and with the left hand they hold a mug or an iron bucket under the stream of milk. In winter they freeze the milk and eat it in this solid
233 form, chopped into small pieces. A cow usually gives a half-bucket
291 of thick, tasty milk. For eating purposes they kill only old and sick reindeer; for clothing they kill almost exclusively young reindeer. If a domestic reindeer is used for food during a scarcity of fish and wild game, its hide is much more often used for clothing, at least among the well-to-do, whereas the hide of a wild reindeer, owing to its coarseness, is used only by poor people. We propose to give more detailed information regarding the number of hides which are used by a family in one year for their various needs in a separate work on the clothing of the Dolgan.

321 From reindeer horns are fashioned various small household articles.

In concluding the ethnographic part of my work on reindeer breed-
121 ing among the Dolgan, I make the reservation that consideration of the Dolgan ideology was consciously left out by me; in order to see to what degree the whole religion of the Dolgan is permeated with elements of reindeer breeding, it would be necessary to describe the religion in a very detailed fashion, which is outside the scope of the present sketch. It is much more expedient to give a description of the religion separately in an independent work.

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan



224
291
492
493
231

Setting bait for foxes. "Victory" collective farm, Khatangskiy Rayon, Taymyr National Okrug.

become common. The art of dancing was practically unknown to the Dolgans. Like the Evenks, they only had rounds (with the refrain "kheyro") in which the men and women went round and round, leading each other by the arm and stamping on the ground. 534 535 171

The graphic art of the Dolgans was of an applied nature. Both festive and ordinary clothing was richly ornamented with beads or appliquéd with narrow strips of colored material. Patterned embroidery with deerhair on suede dyed red with an infusion of alder bark or ochre, or dyed black with graphite, was common. Also to be found was fine openwork embroidery with tendon thread on the straps and belts of the reindeer harness. Decorating the clothing was a job of the women. The men mainly engaged in mammoth-ivory carving. They acquired a particularly high degree of skill in carving cheek-plates for the reindeer halter. Tin-inlaid fronts for reindeer saddles and knife handles were also found. The smiths were considered to be very skilled at inlaying iron objects with copper and silver. The runners and backs of light, low sleds common in the Khatangskiy Rayon show an intriguing range of colors. Dolgan designs for the most part are geometric; they consist of combinations of crosses, semicircles, zigzags and broken lines. Wood-carving of a religious nature was also commonly found. The representations were usually very symbolic. 531 294 321 326 531 322

The Post–Revolutionary Period in the Life of the Dolgans

[In 1926, there were already 17 cooperative stores in the Dolgan territory. In 1931, the former clan Soviets were changed over and replaced by territorial nomadic Soviets, which went to make up the Taymyr Dolgan-Nennish National Okrug. 631 443

[Collectivization of the Dolgans was begun in 1930-31 and completed in 1938. The Dolgan collective farms have collectivized reindeer herds, lines of permanent polar-fox traps, supplies of portable steel springtraps, firearms for hunting and protection of the herds, seines and vertical nets, reindeer harness, sleds, buildings, and special Arctic clothing. The 474 233 224